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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-11 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-04 INR-07 L-03 ACDA-05

NSAE-00 PA-01 SS-15 PRS-01 SP-02 USIA-06 TRSE-00

SAJ-01 DODE-00 H-02 NSC-05 AID-05 COME-00 EB-07

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INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

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USMISSON EC BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

USDEL MTN GENEVA

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION OECD PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

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E.O. 11652: N/A TAG: EGEN, EC,DA

SUBJECT: DANISH REACTION TO TINDEMAN'S REPORT

SUMMARY. DANISH REACTIONS TO TINDEMANS' REPORT HAVE THUS FAR BEEN CAUTOUS. PRO-EC CIRCLES EXPRESSED SYMPATHY FOR PRAGMATIC FEATURES OF THE REPORT AND THE STRENGTHENING OF THE COMMUNITY IN GRADUAL STEPS BUT MAINTAINED ADHERANCE TO THE RIGHT OF VETO AND LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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TO DEFENSE COOPERATION WITHIN NATO. END SUMMARY.

- 1. IMMEDIATE DANISH REACTIONS TO TINDEMANS' REPORT WERE CAUTIOUS AND FULLY CONSISTENT WITH PREVIOUSLY ESTABLISHED DANISH POSITIONS. A STATEMENT ISSUED BY PRIME MINISTER ANKER JORGENSEN A) ENDORSED THE REPORT'S GOALS OF PRESERVING AND STRENGTHENING EUROPEAN COOPERATION: B) WELCOMED THE REPORT AS AN ACTION PROGRAM FOR ACHIEVING COOPERATION DURING THE COMING YEARS; C) DESCRIBED THE REPORT AS IN CONCERT WITH DANISH DESIRES FOR A PRAGMATIC, REALISTIC, AND GRADUAL DEVELOPMENT OF COOPERATION; AND D) NOTED THAT THE REPORT WOULD BE SUBMITTED TO THE PERTINENT PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEES FOR COMMENT PRIOR TO BEING DISCUSSED AT THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL MEETING IN LUXEMBOURG NEXT MARCH.
- 2. IN A TV INTERVIEW, PM JORGENSEN REITERATED THE GENERALLY BENEVOLENT COMMENTS NOTED ABOVE BUT CONCEDED THAT THE REPORT ALSO CONTAINED CERTAIN CONTROVERSIAL FEATURES. JORGENSEN STATED THAT DENMARK COULD NOT ACCEPT COUNCIL DECISIONS BY SIMPLE MAJORITY AND WANTED TO MAINTAIN A VETO ACCORDING TO THE LUXEMBOURG AGREEMENT.
- 3. THE GOVERNMENT'S RESERVATIONS WERE CONFIRMED BY THE SOCIAL DEMOCRAT'S SPOKESMAN, FORMER DEFENSE MINISTER KJELD OLESEN, WHO STATED THAT FOREIGN POLICY COOPERATION MUST CONTINUE AS AT PRESENT WITH FULL SOVEREIGNTY FOR EACH MEMBER COUNTRY AND THAT DEFENSE COOPERATION MUST CONTINUE TO BE NATO-BASED. OLESEN STATED THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT EC DEVELOPMENT PROCEED AT A PACE (IMPLICITLY MODERATE) THAT WOULD HAVE FULL POPULAR SUPPORT AT ALL TIMES.
- 4. THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS DAILY AKTUELT EDITORIALLY TOOK THE SAME LINE AS OLESEN IN SOMEWHAT STRONGER TERMS, DESCRIBING THE REPORT AS A CONGLOMERATION OF VARIED OPINIONS ABOUT FUTURE AND DISTANT GOALS. DENMARK, IT SAID, COULD ACCEPT THE REPORT AS A DEBATING PAPER, SINCE EUROPEAN

 COOPERATION IS NECESSARY AND MEANS TO IMPLEMENT IT MUST BE DISCUSSED, BUT THIS COUNTRY COULD NOT GO SO FAR AS TO ACCEPT A STRONG
- 5. FORMER PRIME MINISTER POUL HARTLING (LIBERAL DESCRIBED THE REPORT AS A ONE-MAN JOB TO BE DISCUSSED BY EC MEMBERS. HE EMPHASIZED THAT THE IMMEDIATE PROBLEMS WERE ECNOMIC COOPERATION; LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

EUROPEAN UNION OR A POLICY OF EC-SPONSORED SECURITY COOPERATION.

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TRADE, INDUSTRY, AND ENERGY POLICIES; AND THE FIGHT AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT. HE HAD NO OJBECTIONS TO FURTHER POLITICAL COOPERATION, INCLUDING FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICIES, BUT STRESSED THAT COOPERATION SHOULD DEVELOP NO FASTER THAN POPULAR ACCEPTANCE PERMITTED. HE FAVORED DEVELOPING SECURITY COOPERATION WITHIN THE EURO-GROUP IN NATO.

6. PROGRESSIVE PARTY LEADER MOGENS GLISTRUP STATED THAT WORLD

GOVERNMENT IS HIS ULTIMATE GOAL AND THAT THE EC IS AN ACCEPTABLE STATION IN EROUTE. HE AVERRED THAT IT WAS USELESS TO FORCE FASTER DEVELOPMENT OF THE EC THAN PEOPLE WERE ABLE TO FOLLOW AND STATED THAT TINDEMANS' PROPSALS SHOULD BE SUBMITTED TO REFERENDUM BEFORE DANISH ACCEPTANCE OF EITHER EUROPEAN UNION OR A COMMON DEFENSE.

7. THE SMALLER POLITICAL PARTIES WERE DIVIDED ALONG ESTABLISHED LINES. THE RADICALS WOULD HAVE LIKE MORE RESULTS WITHIN EXISTING STRUCTURES BEFORE CONSIDERING ANY CHANGES. THE CHRISTIANS CALLED THE REPORT A TAME VERSION OF PREVIOUS UNION PROPOSALS AND, THEREFORE, A CONCESSION TO DANISH AND BRITISH VIEWS. THEY FAVORED LETTING THE EC DISCUSS SECURITY, WHILE MAINTAINING NATO AS THE BASIS OF

DANISH DEFENSE POLICY. CONSERVATIVES CONSIDERED THE VETO HELP-FUL IN ATTAINING NEGOTIATED RESULTS AND CONFIRMED THEIR NATO ADHERENCE. THE CENTER DEMOCRATS SAW A COMMON EUROPEAN SECURITY POLICY AS A LOGICAL CONSEQUENCE OF ECONOMIC COOPERATION BUT MAINTAINED THAT PRACTI AL APPLICATION SHOULD TAKE THE FORM OF STRENGTHENING EC COOPERATION WITHIN NATO. IN PRINCIPLE, THEY FAVORED REINFORCING EC INSTITUTIONS.

- 8. ANTI-MARKETEERS, FROM THE COMMUNISTS ON THE LEFT TO THE JUSTICE PARTY ON THE RIGHT, ALL SAW TINDEMANS' REPORT AS A CREDO FOR SUPRANATIONALITY AND A THREAT TO DANISH SOVEREIGNTY.
- 9. PRESS COMMENT. A. AKTUELT, AS NOTED ABOVE, EXPRESSED STRONGER RESERVATIONS TO THE REPORT THAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY SPOKESMEN THEMSELVES. THE INDEPENDENT BERLINGSKE TIDENDE FULLY ENDORSED THE REPORT'S RECOMMENDATION FOR CONSOLIDATING ECNOMIC AND POLITICAL NEGOTIATIONS

IN THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL BUT RECOGNIZED THAT EVENTAUL INSTITU-IONALIZATION OF POLITICAL COOPERATION WOULD REQUIRE ANOTHER LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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REFERENDUM IN DENMARK. IT AGREED THAT ECONOMIC-MONETARY UNION WAS A PREREQUISITEFOR-AND A COMMON DEFENSE POLICY A NATURAL ADJUNCT TO--EUROPEAN UNION, BUT EMPHASIZED THAT TINDEMANS TOOK A PRGMATIC VIEW BY ADMITTING THAT DEFENSE WOULD BE THE LAST ITEM ON THE AGENDA.

THE PAPER WARNED, THEREFORE, AGAINST EMPHASIZING THE CONTROVERSIAL DEFENSE ISSUE TO THE DETRIMENT OF A FRUITFUL DISCUSSION OF TINDEMANS' REPORT. B. LEFT OF CENTER INDEPENDENT POLITIKEN (WITH A LARGE

LABOR CIRCULATION) SAID THAT WHILE SOME OF TINDEMAN'S VISIONS WERE ACCEPTABLE ONLY TO THE MOST ARDENT EUROPEANS, THE REPORT WAS NEVERTHELESS VALUABLE BECAUSE HE HAD "KEPT ONE FOOT ON THE GROUND" BY SUGGESTIONG STEP-BY-STEP DEVELOPMENT. C. FINANCIAL NEWS-PPAER BORSEN (INDEPENDENT), ARDENTLY PRO-EC, COMMENTED NEGATIVELY ON THE REPORT WHICH, IT SAID, WOULD AT BEST HAVE NO EFFECT

AND AT WORST COULD HAMPER ATTEMPTS TO GET THE EC TO FUNCTION. THE PAPER RECOGNIZED TINDEMANS' VISIONS AS OF POSSIBLE INTEREST TO FUTURE HISTORIANS BUT AS HAVING LITTLE RELEVANCE TO TODAY'S PROBLEMS. EUROPE WAS FAR FROM READY FOR EUROPEAN UNION, A COMMON DEFENSE POLICY, OR MAJORITY DECISIONS, THE IMEDIATE PROBLEMS BEING HARD ENOUGH TO SOLVE.

10. EMBASSY COMMENT. BOTH PUBLIC AND PRESS COMMENT THUS FAR HAS BEEN HAMPERED BY INADEQUATE TIME TO DIGEST THE REPORT. THIS MAY ACCOUNT FOR THE STRICT ADHERENCE TO ESTABLISHED POSITIONS ON THE ISSUES DISCUSSED. THERE IS LITTLE REASON TO BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT THESE POSITIONS WILL CHANGE MUCH. PUBIC SUPPORT OF DANISH EC MEMBERSHIP IS STILL LUKE-WARM AND LARGELY DEPENDENT UPON THE PRE-REFERENDUM PLEDGE THAT DENMARK WOULD ACCEPT THE ROME TREATY BUT NO MORE. POLITICAL SUPPORT FOR A DEVIATION FROM THIS LINE WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO ATTAIN. EVEN WITHIN THE

ACCEPTED TERMS, THERE ARE STRONG RESERVATIONS, NOT LEAST BY THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT, RE ECONOMIC HARMONIZATION THAT COULD CURTAIL INDEPENDENCE ON DOMESTIC (PARTICULARY FISCAL) POLICY. IT IS NOTEWORTHY, HOWEVER, THAT OFFICIAL COMMENT BY THE PM WAS CAREFULLY PHRASED IN BENEVOLENT TERMS IN ORDER NOT TO CONFIRM THE IMPRESSION THAT DENMARK IS A LESS DEVOTED MEMBER OF THE EC THAN OTHERS, BUT MERELY A MORE PRAGMATIC ONE. DEAN

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